1: Karsten--13-15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"In this work I present the results of these researches, which were carried out in the years 1916-1918 and 1928-1929. Of the four years that I have travelled in Western Amazonas about three have been spent in close contact with the Jibaros. During repeated visits among different Jibaro tribes I tried to acquire as complete a knowledge as possible of their whole material and intellect-[14] ual culture, including their religion, mythology, and language. For this purpose I made a point, first of all, of studying such Jibaro tribes as, besides being comparatively easy of access, have most faithfully preserved the ancient customs and beliefs of the people. These, it seems to me, are the tribes living between the rivers Upano and Morona, which are the most numerous in the Ecuadorian Oriente and, in spite of their contact with the whites, have wonderfully resisted the influence of civilization. Among these tribes I have in fact spent most of my time, making excursions in different directions from the village of Macas on the Upano, which for a long time served as the basis for my research. I also frequently visited the northern Jibaro tribes living beside the small rivers Copataza, Arapicos, and Chiguaza, affluents of the upper Rio Pastaza. A special expedition was, moreover, undertaken to the distant Achuares, a savage Jibaro tribe inhabiting the geographically little known regions between the Pastaza and the Morona. The main object of this expedition was to inquire how far the culture of the Pastaza tribes differs from that of the Jibaro tribes living between the Upano and the Morona.

Repeated visits were made to the Quichua-speaking Indians of Canelos on the river Bobonaza, who are closely related to the Jibaros proper. Lastly, in 1929 I made an expedition to the Aguarunas at the Rio Apaga, south of the Marañon, and was able to establish their affinity with the Huambizas on the Morona. My project to visit the latter Indians on the same expedition could not be realized. The Huambizas were at that time very hostile to the whites and, besides that, had been greatly decimated owing to wars with Peruvian soldiers. In 1915 a Peruvian garrison at the upper Morona had been treacherously attacked by the Indians who were enraged on account of some offence, and the majority of the soldiers massacred. In 1928, shortly before I arrived in Ecuador the last time, there had been a new encounter between the Huambizas and the Peruvians in which a great many of the Indians had been killed. I was told that on the upper Morona there were now only a few families left of the Huambizas, who had formerly been one of the most numerous of the Jibaro tribes. Besides this, the Huambizas had been at war with their own kinsmen, the Aguarunas, who had in consequence retired from the Morona to the regions south of the Marañon. It seemed to me therefore of little use to visit the Huambiza Indians, the culture of which, as I had been able to establish before, is the same as that of the Jibaros on the Upano. [15]

However that may be, I have during my three years of travel among different

Jibaro tribes been able to take a fairly complete survey of the whole Jibaro culture of which a full account is given here."

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"My researches among the Jibaros--just as my previous ethnological studies in the Gran Chaco--have been carried out according to the principle 'intensive study of limited areas', and I am convinced that this is the only right method to be followed for the purpose of obtaining ethnological results of scientific value. Not even the material culture of a people can be properly studied during a visit of a few days or weeks; for a right understanding of it a knowledge of the whole psychology of that people is necessary which, again, can only be acquired during a prolonged stay among them. From considerations of space I am compelled to condense my description of the material culture of the Jibaros as much [18] as possible. Still it will, I hope, clearly appear to the reader to what extent for instance the industrial art of the Indians, their agricultural and hunting practices, war customs, and a great many other customs and occupations which to us have a purely practical or social significance are permeated by magical and religious ideas. To such extent in fact is this the case, that those parts of my book which deal with the material culture and social life of the Jibaros will at the same time throw much interesting light upon their religion. --Apart from the limitation just mentioned, it has been my aim to study the social organization, the customs and beliefs of the Indians in every detail, since it is precisely the details that have value for comparative ethnology and sociology and alone give us the means of penetrating into the psychology of a primitive people.

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 121 (1928-29)

In studying various rites and customs of the Indians I have, moreover, not been content with ascertaining the external facts, but I have, as far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying these customs, the reasons why they are practised. The importance of discovering the motives prompting the Indians to practise a certain custom is quite obvious, and every reader of my work will find that without knowing them, many facts recorded by me would remain unintelligible and be likely to be entirely misunderstood. Thus--to mention one instance--who could understand the peculiar rules of fasting observed by the Jibaros unless the curious line of thought upon which they are founded were exactly indicated by themselves? It has sometimes been said that savage peoples as a rule do not know themselves why they practise a certain custom, and that it is useless to inquire about the ideas which have lead them to it, since these may have been forgotten long ago. This remark does not, at any rate hold true of the Jibaros. On the contrary, what struck me greatly during my investigations was the accuracy with which most older members of the Jibaro community were able to assign the motives underlying social customs and religious rites. Consequently the explanations offered by me as to these customs and rites are almost invariably given by the Indians themselves and may therefore be regarded as ethnological facts. Where, on the other hand, my interpretation is only my own conjecture, this is expressly indicated. My chief object in this work, however, has not been to present theories but to state bare facts.

Those of my readers who are interested in knowing how the facts here stated with regard to the Jibaroo fit into the whole system of native ideas, customs, and institutions which we can trace in South America. [19] I beg to refer to my work The Civilization of the South American Indians (1).

When I say that most older members are able to assign the motives underlying customs and rites, this statement requires some further explanation. Old persons certainly possess the best knowledge of such things; but there are some customs which only old men know about, and others respecting which only old women can give information. It may be important to point out this expressly. When I started upon my first expedition to South America in 1911 one of the leading ethnologists of England gave me the advice never to have dealings with the women among the trjbes I visited. 'They know nothing', he added, 'and it only arouses the jealousy of the men when one enters into conversation with the women'. Both in the Choco and in Western Amazonas I have in fact obtained some of my best information from the women, who turned out to be equally as good informants on Indian customs as the men, sometimes even better. This particularly holds

---

"1. Kegan Paul & Co. London, 1926. A. Knopf. New York."

true of the Jibaros, among whom the women play the main part at certain important ceremonies and consequently alone are able to give detailed information about them. Of this kind are, for instance the customs connected with agriculture and the ceremonies performed at 'the feast of the women'. The songs or prayers which on these occasions are addressed to the great Earth-mother Nungüi form the exclusive intellectual property of the women, whom consequently the ethnologist has to address if he wants to obtain detailed information about them.

It is of course conceivable that in some cases the real origin of a custom may have been partly or wholly forgotten and that a new explanation has been substituted for the idea from which it has originally sprung. I have reason to believe that this has only exceptionally been the case with the Jibaros. One of the advantages which the study of a great and independent people like the Jibaros offers is that the ideas upon which its customs and ceremonies are founded can as a rule be regarded as genuine and, in a relative sense, 'primitive'. However this may be, my aim has only been to find out the present meaning attached to the customs recorded by me."

l: Karsten-- 37 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
121 (1928-29)

"I was ready to start on my journey down the rivers. According to my original project I had first to visit the Jibaro tribe known under the name of Achuares, who lived somewhere on the midle [sic] course of the Pastaza in the interior of the country. Thereafter I wished to continue my journey along the Pastaza down to the Marañon for the purpose of visiting the Cocama Indians and certain other tribes living on this great river. For reasons to be mentioned later I was not, however, able to carry out the latter part of the programme."

l: Karsten--71 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"The expedition which I undertook to Western Amazonas in 1928-1929 had for its chief object a further study of certain particular customs, a general survey of the whole Jibaro culture, and, last but not least, a visit to the country of the Aguarunas, the southernmost tribe of the Jibaro people. In this chapter I propose to give a short account of this expedition which covered nearly the whole enormous area inhabited by the Jibaros, taking me along the Bobonaza and Pastaza down to the Marañon and further to one of its southern affluents, the small river Apaga."

l: Karsten--541 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"I started to study the Jibaro language from the beginning of my stay among the Upano tribe, with first my interpreter from Macas and later Jibaro Indians as teachers. Gradually I compiled a vocabulary of more than a thousand words, which was carefully verified many times with the aid of my Indian friends. Similarly, in conversation with the Indians I tried to catch the most important grammatical and syntactic rules which are stated here. During my last stay among the Jibaros in 1928-29 I again revised my vocabulary, making certain corrections and additions. I thus venture to hope that the mistakes which are almost inevitable in a book treating of the language of a savage people are here reduced to a minimum."

2: Stirling--X-XI (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 121

"The following account makes no pretense of being a complete description of the ethnology of the Jivaros. An effort has been made to present a maximum of factual material with as little theoretical speculation as possible. The author has tried to indicate the position of the Jivaros in the general aboriginal cultural pattern of northwest South America. Rather than attempt broad comparisons, the writer has selected a few characteristic topical subjects, such as supernatural beliefs, war customs, and head hunting, in an effort to demonstrate that these practices instead of being peculiar to the Jivaros are traits which were formerly typical of a wide area in the northern Andes. The method of appraoch has been primarily historical; this chronological study bringing out several interesting [XI] points, such as population changes and the apparent post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun."

3: Simson--385 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 121

"*These notes were chiefly taken during a very short stay at a Jívaro Settlement on the borders of the River Pintuc (or Pindo), one of the tributaries on the left bank of the Upper Pastassa, in Ecuador, and refer mainly to that portion of the tribe inhabiting this region."

26: Brüning--46 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 121

In 1902 an expedition to the Marañón River was organized in Chiclayo. The purpose of this expedition was the search for a convenient communication between the Pacific Coast and the watercourses east of the Andes. I had an opportunity to participate in this expedition. When the money allotted to the enterprise ran out, I continued the expedition at my own expense. During this trip we had brief encounters with the primitive Indians who live on both banks of the upper Marañón River and its tributaries. The following information is based partly upon my own observations, partly upon information which I received from the whites who live as rubber traders among the natives.

29: Vité--15 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 121

On the 29th of last December my companions: Michele Car, Francesco Bornengo, Luigi Bosio, and I, left Genoa in the boat [motonave] "Virgilio," to study the life and customs of the Jibaro Indians, and, in particular, to film a motion picture on this curious race.

31: Danielsson--83-84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 121, 571

"As often has been pointed out, the advance of sociology depends principally on the development of objective techniques of determining social interaction in human populations and on the formulation of universal laws for describing this interaction. The principal obstacle to the development of these new techniques and to the formulation of general laws is the difficulty of undertaking experiments. This difficulty is, of course, chiefly one of ethical attitude. Sociological experiments are not yet in public opinion regarded as naturally permissible as experiments in the natural sciences. This attitude is a real and considerable difficulty. The idea underlying the present study is that while we are waiting for a change of public opinion sociometric studies among primitive peoples (the term 'primitive' here of course meaning 'not having a written language') might in some cases give us a substitute for experiments, or in any case that studies of this type might contribute to the basic work on sociological theory and method.

The characteristics to be sought among primitive peoples which would be favorable for the sociological researcher with the mentioned point of view in mind are the following:

1. Relative isolation from other primitive tribes and from other cultural groups, thus limiting the number of disturbing influences.

2. Small number of individuals, permitting not only a sampling, but a complete canvass.

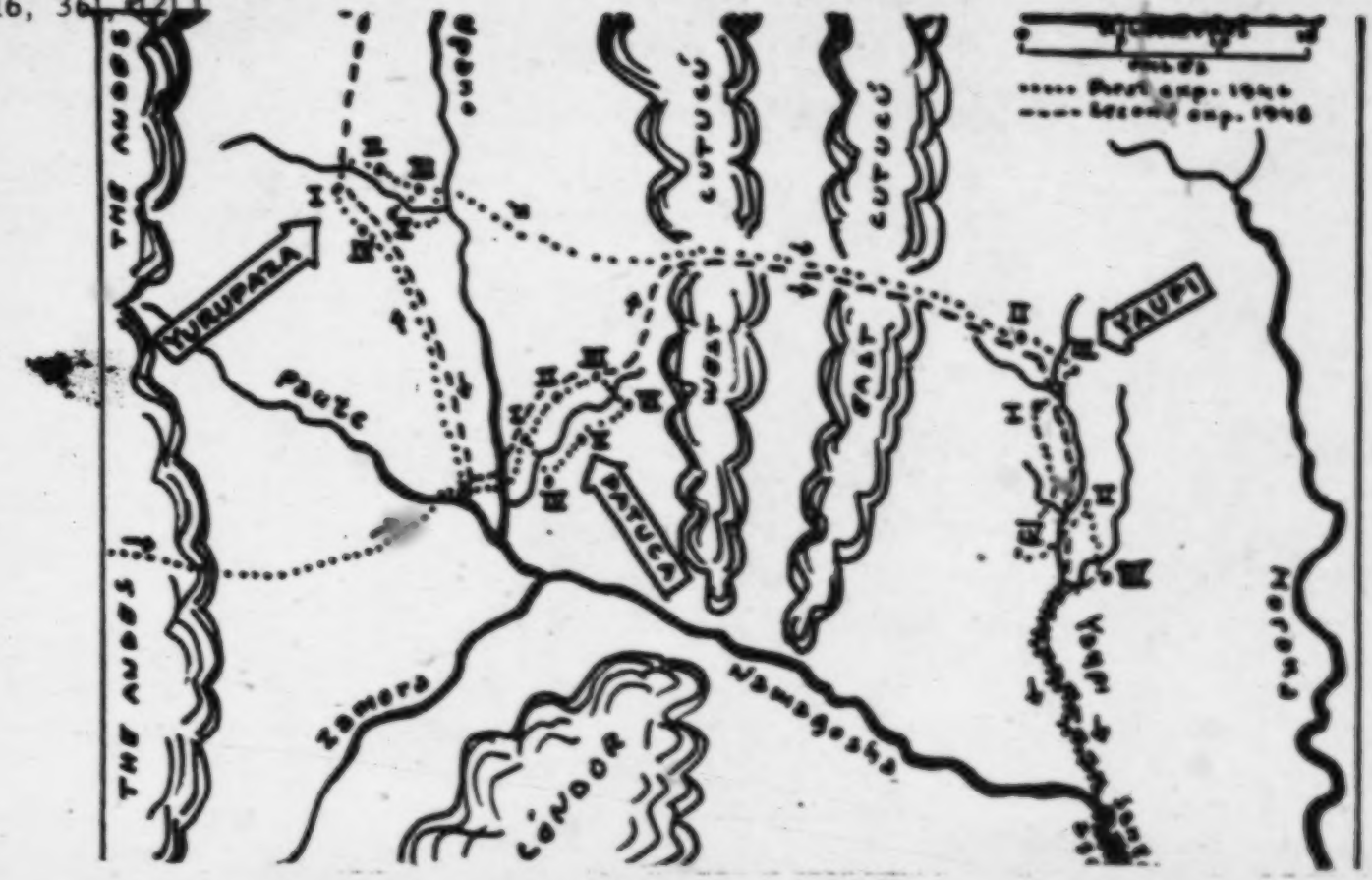
3. A simple social structure, at least in comparison with the civilized [84] societies ('those having a written language'). The structure is generally simpler among primitive peoples of course principally due to the fact that indirect communication, in space and time, is very limited. As a consequence, in a primitive society basic sociological patterns underlying all human behavior could more easily be found.

As a primitive people, the Jibaro Indians from Western Amazonas, chosen for the present study, seem to fulfill these requirements."

31: Danielsson--87
116, 361 [illegible]

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro



31: Danielsson--105 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 121

"In spite of the very limited area from which the material pertaining to the present study is gathered, some suggestions and hints seem to present themselves concerning at least the following problems of more universal scope:

1. The laws for different types of groupings, centripetal, centrifugal, etc.
2. The operational definition of 'key persons'.
3. The correlation between verbal and non-verbal behavior.
4. The correlation between attraction and blood relationship.
5. The relation between repulsion and geographical space.

These problems can of course be solved only by inventing hypotheses and having them tested out through further research.

What we mainly have wished to call attention to in this paper is, however, that in this principal task of sociology it seems apparent that excellent opportunities for gathering basic material and for testing new hypotheses in many cases may be offered by studies among so-called primitive peoples."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

MICHAEL J. HARNER
University of California, Berkeley

[10] [18] THE Jivaro people (*auturi huara*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs, with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[2]

[12] [83] [104] [96] [28] The emphasis here will be on previously new data collected in 1956-57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935, Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[4]

[27] [114] [133] [103] [131] [115] Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Río Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangoza and the Río Supa; the Río Chigüaza; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *Mukuimpü*, *Tsukimpü*, *Uüit Akaíta*, *Kugutí*, and *Uete Akaíta* of the Río Tutanangoza; *Mata* of the upper Río Macuma; and *Hintai* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *Hueg-A*, *Tupi*, and *Naita*, all from the Río Tutanangoza region.

[124] The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp. 250-252]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jívaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jívaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[18] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jívaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*ahuían*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jívaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

[1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri huara* comprise the Jívaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper," "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jívaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *huara*, does not mean "Jívaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri huara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jívaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*shuara huara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jívaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri huara* or Jívaro proper. The other Jívaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achúal), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e *English i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- č Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following č or l plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following č or l plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish *s* when l is adjacent)

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard g sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ẽ*; palatized when following *ẽ* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ẽ* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *r* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[2] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[3] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[4] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[5] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[6] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[7] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *maikua* in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

[8] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched.

[9] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

[10] There is also a rare super arutam, *awsag*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[11] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[12] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

[13] *Muisak* may be alternatively pronounced *muisha*.

[14] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *muisak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

[15] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

[16] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sometimes along with their gardens.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

INTRODUCTION

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri šuarä* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro "shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 There was certainly no other tribe in South America about
• 121 which less was known in proportion to what had been published. Part of this situation was due to certain aspects of Jívaro culture, particularly the making of *tsantsa*, which lent themselves to sensationalistic articles and popular books which were typically based upon a minimum or even an absence of actual contact with the Jívaro. Only two serious major works on them existed: the late Rafael Karsten's *Head-hunters of Western Amazonas* (1935), and M. W. Stirling's *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jívaro Indians* (1938). Yet much of what Karsten wrote was vague and highly opinionated, and Stirling's field data were fairly limited due to the short time he spent with the Jívaro. In addition, where the two authors overlapped in subject matter, their reports tended to be strongly contradictory.[1]

In view of this situation, I took both Karsten's and Stirling's works into the field with me and reviewed them sentence by sentence with Jívaro informants. Except for Stirling's data on material culture, I found that there was scarcely a paragraph of ethnographic information in either work that could be considered wholly accurate.

In time, it became evident that the erratic quality of information supplied by both anthropologists derived in part from their reliance on white men as interpreters. Karsten depended almost exclusively on Macabeos, the mestizo inhabitants of the village of Macas, for his communication with Indian informants. He also relied on them for second-hand information on Jívaro culture, as I ascertained by talking to Macabeos who had worked for him. I also found that the Macabeos had misconceptions of Jívaro culture which they believed in so strongly that they were willing to argue with the Indians about the latter's own culture. It was not too different in Stirling's case, although much more expectable,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

since he was able to spend only a few short months with the Jívaro in comparison with Karsten's intermittent work during several years. Stirling's interpreter was Santiago Baca of Méndez, whom I knew personally, and whom on one occasion I tested as an interpreter. Although a fine person, Baca hardly would let an Indian speak before he reinterpreted and expanded what had been said to fit his own preconceptions. The following portion of a letter from Stirling to me, dated June 30, 1962, in response to an article which I had just published on Jívaro soul beliefs,[2] shows the role of Baca in his work. I would like to add that I consider the letter a tribute to Stirling's scholarly integrity:

> It is high time that adequate studies are finally being made of this significant group. When I made my rather hasty trip through the Jivaro country in 1930–31, the working conditions were far from ideal. The expedition was badly organized and from the standpoint of the ethnologist we were never able to stay in one place long enough to get proper results. I knew nothing of the Jivaro language, and depended entirely on the interpreter-Santiago Baca–for the esoteric information. What I recorded was what he understood from the informants. He was, incidentally, a political refugee and had lived 2 years with the Jivaro in hiding.
>
> It is interesting to note that most of the Jivaro we encountered at that time insisted that they knew nothing of religious beliefs –that we would have to contact old Anguasha (on the Yaupe [Yaupi] River). We finally did contact him, and he was the source of most of this type of material which I secured. I am sure that he was a good informant–very sincere and desirous of being precise–so the errors were probably the result of misunderstanding by the interpreter, since I tried not to fill in any interpretations of my own. I had Karsten's work with me, and after getting our own material I checked with Karsten's accounts. The Indians would agree with practically none of his ideas, in-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 sisting that they had never heard of such a thing. Incidentally, I
• 121 never learned with which group he worked—a fact which he appeared to keep secret. I assumed that either the Indians with whom he worked had different concepts, or that he possibly supplied interpretations of his own.

It does not seem probable to me that basic changes in fundamental beliefs could take place in 30 years, so I am inclined to agree with you that the errors in my account were the result of wrong interpretation.

121 Since the purpose of the present book is to provide a broad
128 introduction to Jívaro culture rather than a detailed comparison with earlier publications, the reader will not find specific criticisms of Karsten's and Stirling's data in the following pages. These will be gradually provided in more specialized publications, which will also have the function of focusing on particular aspects of Jívaro life in greater detail. To the specialist who reads this work, however, I wish to say that statements that he finds here implicitly contradicting those of the two other authors may be taken, in fact, as explicit corrections of their accounts. A contradictory account here does not imply ignorance of their material.

Beyond this, of course, is the question of cultural change.
[115] First of all, I wish to note that several of my most important elderly informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in 1916–18 and did not come into substantial first-hand contact with whites until fifteen to
[114] twenty years later. The fieldwork by Stirling occurred later, in 1930–31, but as Stirling himself noted above, the basic source of difference with my own material was probably his interpreter. In addition, I made a special effort to secure field data that would reveal those aspects of Jívaro culture that had changed or remained stable during this century, and the final chapter of the book is devoted to that subject.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fication possible. I personally believe that the proper use of first-class interpreters is an excellent field technique, but that it must be done with sophistication involving constant rephrasing of the same questions in different contexts with various interpreters and informants and supplemented by as much participant observation as possible. It seems likely that at least as many errors in ethnographic research can be committed by the fieldworker who is under the delusion that he is "fluent" in the language, and who fails to check his results through interpreters, as by the researcher who recognizes his linguistic limitations and uses trained interpreters with sensible caution and patience.

The research providing the present data was conducted for a total of fourteen field months in 1956–57, 1964 and 1969, primarily in the following river valleys occupied by the Jívaro: the Río Chiguasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and the Río Upano and its tributaries. Except where otherwise stated, the ethnographic data presented here refer to the culture of those Jívaro who in 1956–57 were not yet in regular first-hand contact with Ecuadorians or other whites.

The 1956–57 field investigation was sponsored by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation, Inc., of New York, with supplementary grants from the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, the American Museum of Natural History, and the American Anthropological Association (Smith, Kline and French Laboratories contract). The organization and study of the collected data upon my return from the field was facilitated by a University Fellowship in Anthropology from the University of California and by a summer grant from the Social Science Research Council.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 changes, the investigator normally attempted to compare the views of a number of persons regarding modifications in each type of cultural activity. Accordingly, a trend is reported here only if it was substantiated independently by at least several reliable informants. To heighten the accuracy of such information, the trends reported here are further restricted to those which the informants had observed during the passage of their own lifetimes. Changes that had reportedly gone on in the culture previously, and for which the information was therefore of a hearsay type, are not included unless specifically so noted. Thus the reported
114 changes primarily occurred during the period ca. 1895–1957. The ethnographic present in this chapter, as elsewhere, is 1956–57.

• 121 It should be pointed out that the material that follows
124 often includes consideration of causal factors from the informants' point of view. Such statements of opinion regarding causal relationships between changes are, unless otherwise indicated, those of elderly, knowledgeable informants whom I respected for their intelligence and ability to analyze the events about them. In asking and respecting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis
121 of causal relationships within their own culture. On the contrary, I have found that the Jívaro are extremely aware of,
124 and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives; and
151 normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I
181 proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jívaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as "we do it that way because our ancestors

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jivaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

177 Still, the Jivaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

• 121 In any case, the culture of the Jivaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.